MYSTIC ALLUSIONS IN THE *FROGS* OF ARISTOPHANES

by GEORGE W. ELDERKIN

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Mystic Allusions in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes

In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes mystic allusions are the logical concomitants of parody in that comedy of Eleusinian ritual pronouncement and procession including even the *gephyrismoi*.[1] The poet's selection of Dionysus to descend to Hades and bring back Euripides was inspired by the myth of that god's descent to the lower world to get his mother Semele.[2] The importance of Dionysus in the Eleusinian mysteries suggests that these included a re-enactment of such descent and return for the benefit of initiates corresponding to that of Lucius who in his initiation into the mysteries of Isis descended to the lower world to face the *deos inferos*.[3] This rite was an anticipation of the experience which awaited initiates after death. In comedy the motif of a descent to the lower world to bring back someone to life was not original with Aristophanes. Eupolis in his *Demoi* brought up from Hades the distinguished statesmen Solon, Miltiades and Pericles that Athens might profit by their advice. In the *Frogs* the original intention of Dionysus was to bring back Euripides to revive tragedy. Dionysus personified the Athenian public, as Kock notes, which admired Euripides more than Aeschylus (*cf. v.* 807) but after the contest of these two poets in the lower world under his presidency Dionysus disregarded popular preference and decided to bring up Aeschylus as the more qualified to restore the failing art of drama. Aeschylus shared the sublime conceptions of his Athenian contemporaries Phidias and Ictinus. The resurrection of Aeschylus by Dionysus is the close counterpart of the resurrection of Peace by Trygaeus in the *Peace* of Aristophanes. The closeness is enhanced by the significance of the name Trygaeus which is derived from τρύγη 'vintage' and therein associates him with the Dionysus of the Lenaia. Aristophanes in mounting Trygaeus upon a beetle as his means of reaching the heavens again alludes to his Dionysiac character in that the word κάνθαρος not only signified 'beetle' but also the wine cup of Dionysus par excellence.[4] In the *Frogs* the selection

[1] *Cf.* Kock, *Die Frösche* (1898) pp. 29–30.
[2] Pausanias, II, 31, 2; 37, 5.
[3] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 23.
[4] *Cf.* my *Kantharos* pp. 49ff.

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of a pseudo-Heracles to accompany Dionysus was dictated by the tradition that that hero had also descended to Hades to bring back Alcestis.

The location of the Lenaion in the marshes at Athens and the celebration there of the festival Lenaia at which the *Frogs* was presented raises a question as to the significance of these two names. Lenaia must certainly be related to the *Lenai* the Bacchanals and also but perhaps less directly to ληνός 'wine-vat'. The vintage is clearly involved. The importance of the vintage in the history of the Athenian theatre is suggested by the principal relief on the throne of the priest of Dionysus Eleuthereus in that theatre to which the dramatic performance of the Lenaion were transferred. Although this throne is probably Neo-Attic its sculptured decoration may be traditional. Its principal relief represents two sileni carrying a bunch of grapes, perhaps to the Lenaion. This scene is itself the decoration of an altar with incurved sides which terminate above in a scroll. In view of the obvious sepulchral use of this type of altar it may have been the form of the altar in the Lenaion, the sanctuary of the wine-press. A rustic song which was sung at a wine-vat commemorated the dismemberment of the god of the vine.[5] The altar of the relief may have been that set up at the center of the orchestra of the theatre and in the direct view of the priest of Dionysus. To decorate a monument with figures which moved toward it, in this case Sileni bearing a bunch of grapes to the altar of their god in the Lenaion, would be to share a Phidian idea as is illustrated by the frieze of the Parthenon which represents the Panathenaic procession bearing the sacred robe of Athena to her temple.

The sepulchral character of the altar with incurved sides is well attested over a long period of time and over a wide area. It appears in the gable of the Etruscan *Tomba delle Leonesse* where it is flanked by two lionesses.[6] Immediately below the altar in a frieze is a large crater, a wine vessel par excellence, which is flanked by musicians and dancing figures. The altar and the crater belong both to the god of wine. If this Etruscan fresco is of Lydian inspiration, and it was from

[5] *Cf.* Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* V, p. 176. Cornutus says that peasants dismembered Dionysus in the form of grapes (*Epidrome* 30). Such rustic ritual can hardly be of late origin. A crushing of Dionysus, a resurrected god, appears to be the ultimate inspiration of the motif of Christ in a wine-press. *Cf.* Eisler, *Orphisch-Dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der Christlichen Antike*, pls. XV, XVI. There is a striking example in the Museum of Reims which is described but not illustrated by Alois Thomas, *Die Darstellung Christi in der Kelter* (1936). I owe the latter reference to Professor Kurt Weitzmann.

[6] *Antike Denkmäler* II, pl. 42. Another example is depicted in the Etruscan *Tomba dei Tori* (*ibid.*, pl. 41).

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Lydia that Tyrrhenus and his people migrated to Etruria, then the fresco would share the provenance of the title Eleuthereus of the priest of Dionysus of the theatre at Athens where the same type of altar as in the fresco has been remarked.[7] The title, which was derived immediately from the Attic-Boeotian town of Eleutherae, translates the Lydian word *briga* 'free'. Dionysus was the national god of Lydia. Thus the altar with incurved sides may have come from Lydia to Etruria and Greece.

A still older example of this altar with scrolls at the upper corners is deliniated on a geometric crater.[8] Here altar and crater are brought together, a detail serving to confirm the conclusion of a relationship of the two in the Etruscan fresco cited above. This geometric crater was discovered in a cemetery at Syracuse and contained human bones. These details are strong confirmation of the sepulchral character of the altar with incurved sides. The presence of this type of altar in Minoan gems and in the relief of the Gate of Lions at Mycenae raises the question whether Dionysus was a member of the Mycenaean pantheon.

The conclusion here drawn from the representation of a sepulchral altar on the throne of the priest of Dionysus in the theatre at Athens is that it commemorates the death of the god in the wine-press which was celebrated at the Lenaia. The performance of comedy at this festival, even without its pronounced interest in vulgarity and indecent innuendo, is an incongruity which invites attempt at explanation. The Lenaia may have been related to the lake-wake of the British Isles. This was a 'sitting up' with a dead body and was often the occasion for festivity of an extreme sort. John Brand quotes complaints of the drinking and lewdness of the lake-wakes.[9] "The young lads and lasses romp with one another and when the fathers and mothers are at last overcome with sleep and whiskey the youth become more enterprising and are frequently successful. It is said that more matches are made at wakes than at weddings". One critic said of the wakes of his time that "they still continue to resemble too much the ancient Bacchanalian orgies – an instance of depravity that highly disgraces human nature..... They (who abuse such solemn meetings) think with Epicurean licentiousness that since life is so uncertain no opportunity should be neglected of transmitting it, and that the loss by death of

[7] The frieze on the marble throne of the priest which represents two winged lions confronting each a male figure of Orientalizing type may also be of Lydian origin.

[8] *B. C.H.* 1936, pl. XIV, 2 and p. 144, fig. 1.

[9] *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (1849) II, pp. 229–30.

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one relation should be made up by the birth of another". Vulgarity would be a logical concomitant of such orgies.

The drinking and licentiousness of the wake, the antiquity of which is indicated by its widespread occurrence in the British Isles, are the counterpart of the bibulous and licentious scene in the *Tomba delle Leonesse* of the late sixth century B.C. The latter may have been a permanent pictorial record of wakes for the occupants of the tomb. In its fresco a wine jar, a crater of large size, is flanked by female dancers one of whom, diaphanously clad, confronts an ithyphallic male. This erotic motif and the 'marriage' of the British wake may explain the name Gamelion (from *gamos* 'marriage') for the month in which the Lenaia was celebrated. It was therefore logical that almost every play of Aristophanes should end with a marriage and *komos*. These have been regarded as a survival of early ritual. Drinking at primitive wakes may account for the prominent role of Dionysus as god of wine in the cult of the dead in Greece and apparently also in Etruria. The ordinary wake however seems to have had no vogue in ancient Greece. Apuleius tells of a proper one in Thessalian Larissa.[10]

There may be an echo of the wake in the *Frogs* when Iacchus is invited to escort the chorus. He "has torn both the little sandal and the rag (of a girl) thus occasioning laughter and slight expense" (*vv.* 403ff). The word εὐτελείᾳ (*v.* 405) is taken to mean that the damage to these two articles is of no moment because of their worn condition. Laughter comes first and then economy. In this passage εὐτέλεια would assume greater significance if the Athenians suspected a play upon two meanings of its basic word τέλος (1) "expense" and (2) in the plural "sacred rites" especially of the Eleusinian mysteries, and upon the related verb τελέω "to make perfect" *i.e.* "to initiate" into the mysteries. The latter is illustrated by the phrase Διονύσῳ τελεσθῆναι "to be initiated into the mysteries of Dionysus" and by the noun τελετή (*v.* 342) "a making perfect" particularly by initiation into the mysteries of Demeter. Not only did Iacchus "tear down" sandal and garment of the maid of the chorus but found a way of letting the chorus play and dance without penalty" (*v.* 407). The erotic nature of the scene is further shown when the chorus catches sight of the breast of one of

[10] *Metam.* II, 21. One Thelyphron heard an old man asking if anyone was willing to keep watch over a corpse and receive a reward. The reason was to prevent witches from biting off pieces from the face of the dead. Brand (*ibid.* p. 225, n. 1) quotes a suggestion that the wake was designed to prevent agents of the invisible world from carrying off a corpse.

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their playmates as it peeped out from her torn chitonion.[11] The verb (κατα) σχίζειν used here (*v.* 404) of the torn sandal and of a torn garment appears in the two names Ἀργεῖαι σχισταί "a kind of woman's sandal" and in σχιστὸς χιτωνίσκος "a tunic open at the side". It is curious that in Laconia, where the mystic Dionysus appeared early, Laconian maids received the title from Ibycus (560 B.C.) of φηνομηρίς "showing the thigh" because they wore the σχιστὸς χιτών. The verbal adjective σχιστός suggests the sandal and garment "torn" by Iacchus in the procession which is reminiscent of that from Eleusis to Athens. A few verses later (*vv.* 416ff) the chorus alludes to the *gephyrismoi* of that procession. This shows that with Iacchus as escort it is approaching the bridge which gave a name to its license (*v.* 416). The comedy of the *Frogs* transports that procession to Hades.

In the *Frogs* the return of Aeschylus with Dionysus to the upper world is reminiscent of the return of Zagreus as Dionysus at Delphi. Its theatre may have commemorated that event. The importance of Dionysus there is indicated by the fact that he and his Thyiads occupied an entire gable of the temple of Apollo[12] who with the Muses was the subject of the other, thus attesting the balanced prominence of the two at the sanctuary. This importance is confirmed by the tradition that Dionysus was the first to sit upon the tripod and prophesy.[13] It is then no wonder that the priest of Pythochrestes Exergetes, the interpreter appointed by the Pythian oracle, sat upon the immediate right, the lucky side, of the priest of Dionysus Eleuthereus in the theatre at Athens as inscriptions upon their respective thrones prove. What reason was there for Dionysus to seat himself upon the tripod and prophesy? The tripod most likely commemorated that in which the pieces of Zagreus, the *alter ego* of Dionysus, had been boiled to be consumed by the Titans. The return of the god brought from the other world prophetic vision. The tripod was thus a seat of prophecy. Further significant evidence of the symbolism of the tripod is that it was the prize given to the victor in the contest of dithyrambs at Athens and that these vessels were dedicated by the victors on special monuments in the Street of Tripods. The dithyramb dealt with the sufferings of Dionysus (*i.e.* Zagreus) according to Plutarch.[14] That this was its

[11] The exposed breast of a female figure appeared in Attic sculpture in the time of Aristophanes. *Cf.* Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike* p. 296, a Roman copy of a statue of the fifth century.

[12] Paus., X, 19, 4.

[13] Schol. *Pyth.* Argum. A.

[14] *De Ei apud Delphos* 389a. Plato, *Leges* 700B, "thinks" the proper theme of the dithyramb was the birth of Dionysus.

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subject is cleverly hinted by Archilochus (700 B.C.) who in the earliest extant reference to it says he knows "how to begin a dithyramb when his mind has been thunder-struck with wine".[15] The highly significant word 'thunder-struck' alludes to the punishment inflicted by Zeus, the father of Zagreus, upon the Titans for the *sparagmos* and boiling (in a tripod?) of his son. Zeus smote them with his thunderbolts. Archilochus is the lexical forbear of Aristophanes in the choice of words which admit of two interpretations. The dithyramb was in the Phrygian mode and dealt with an important incident in the myth of Zagreus-Dionysus.

The close association of Apollo and Dionysus at Delphi clearly attested by the juxtaposition of the marble thrones of their priests in the Athenian theatre explains the sequence of quotations by the Eleusinian Aeschylus from the dramas of Euripides in the *Frogs* (*vv.* 1317–21) wherein commentators see only a medley of phrases which are "a mere piece of fooling" (Merry) and where it is useless to seek any continuity of thought (Kock). The first phrase (1317–8) tells of the dolphin that "leaps about the dark prows" and alludes to the tradition that Apollo, transformed into a dolphin, conducted a Cretan colony to Delphi[16] whence he derived his title of Delphinios. Since the ship which the dolphin Apollo guided to Phocis brought the first priests of the god to oracular Delphi the second of the phrases logically cites *manteia* "oracles" (1319). These *manteia* are joined with *stadious* "race-courses" (1319). Delphi still has its ancient *stadion*. The contests held in it were very probably in honor of Zagreus (Dionysus) whose heart was brought to Delphi for burial by Athena. Funeral games were as old as Homer who tells of prizes given in contests which marked the burial of Amarynceus (*Iliad*, XXIII, 630). Immediately after the *stadious* the poet, in allusion to the rebirth of Dionysus, mentions "the joy of the first shoots of the vine, the tendril of the grape-cluster that gives respite from toil" (1320–1). The next verse "Throw your arms about me, oh Child" though quoted from the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides, may have been intended by Aristophanes as a reference to Demeter when her daughter Persephone was restored to her. Persephone as the mother of Zagreus had Delphic as well as Eleusinian associations.

[15] Bergk, *Lyrici Gr.*, 72.

[16] Hom. *H. Apoll.*, 400, 495. The tradition throws light on a curious scene, depicted upon a Corinthian tripod bowl, of a dance about a crater. One of the dancers pours wine for a dolphin (Figured by Eisler, *Orphisch-Dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der Christlichen Antike*, p. 106). One should add here the seemingly incongruous frieze of diving dolphins just below another of dancers about a crater in the Etruscan *Tomba delle Leonesse*, cited above (p. 6).

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The question in the following verse (1323) "Do you see this foot" though ostensibly referring to the meter may also have had an Eleusinian connotation if, as is possible, Dionysus in the comedy saw a real human foot[17] with a saffron band attached to it. Eleusinian mystics attached a saffron band to the left foot and the right hand, an act called κροκοῦν. The importance of saffron in Eleusinian tradition is shown by the name of the Krokonidai who were a family of priests at Eleusis.[18] Their founder King Krokon dwelt on the road between Eleusis and Athens.[19] He was a son of Triptolemus. When in *v.* 46 of the *Frogs* Heracles was highly amused by the lion-skin and saffron chiton worn by Dionysus the spectators saw something more than a suggestion of effeminacy in the saffron garment. The crocus seems to have been symbolic of spring. Thus the entire passage (*vv.* 1317–23) in the *Frogs* is a consistent sequence of Delphic and Eleusinian allusions.

In *v.* 42 of the *Frogs* the verb μαίνοιο is addressed to Dionysus, and may be an echo of the Homeric μαινόμενος Διόνυσος (*Iliad* VI, 132). In the next verse Heracles swears by Demeter that he is unable not to laugh, a reference quite probably to Demeter. She sat upon the ἀγέλαστος πέτρα in grief for her missing daughter when she arrived at Eleusis. There appears to be another allusion to this stone in *vv.* 194–5 when Charon tells Xanthias to wait for him "*beside* the stone of Auainos at the resting places".[20] To this command he adds the question "Do you understand?" The question was probably addressed as well to the spectators. The name Auainos, a figment of Aristophanes, is based upon the verb αὐαίνειν "to wither away" in allusion to the parched earth which resulted when Demeter in her grief neglected vegetation over which she presided. Apparently Xanthias was not to sit on the stone even as the uninitiated were forbidden to sit on the *petra* of Demeter.

In *vv.* 66–7 Dionysus says that a desire for Euripides devours him (δαρδάπτει) whereupon Heracles asks "Even though he is dead?" The verb used here seems to have a definite connotation. Normally it is used of wild animals that tear and devour their prey. Here it may allude to the fate of Zagreus in that he was torn to pieces and devoured by the Titans.

[17] *Cf.* Merry *ad loc.*

[18] Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 163 gives the Greek text.

[19] Paus., I, 38.

[20] Taccone in *Boll. Fil. Class.*, XXII (1915–6) suggests that Charon's boat circled round the orchestra in the conduit at the foot of the cavea while Xanthias went straight across from one end of it to the other. Such use of a drain would certainly have enhanced the comic effect of the scene.

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Another suggestive word, quite Eleusinian, is ἐποπτεύειν (*v.* 746) which was used of the mystic who in addition to hearing certain pronouncements witnessed representations of some sort. He was an *epoptes*. The verb occurs again in *v.* 879 where the chorus invites the Muses (*cf. v.* 356) to witness "the power of most clever mouths", *i.e.* the impending contest between Aeschylus and Euripides. The words ἐποψόμενοι δύναμιν should be compared with ἐποπτεύων κράτη quoted from the prologue of the *Choephoroe* by Aeschylus in *v.* 1126. They are addressed to Hermes Chthonius by Orestes as he stands at the grave of his father whose murder he is to avenge. The word δύναμιν has a definite Eleusinian tinge since one of the rites performed in the presence of the mystics culminated in the exclamation by a priest: "Brimo has given birth to Brimos" *i.e.* "The Strong has given birth to the Strong".[21] A few verses after the chorus's invitation to "witness the power of most clever mouths" Aeschylus prays to Demeter, who "reared his mind", that he be worthy of her mysteries (*vv.* 886–7).

In *vv.* 353–7 the chorus demands words of good omen and warns that one to remain aloof "from our dances" whoso is without experience of such words, who is not pure of thought, who has not seen the orgies of the noble Muses (the nine holy maids of Zeus, *vv.* 875–6) has not shared their dances or has not been initiated into the Bacchic rites of the tongue of the bull-eating Cratinus". The appearance here of the name Μουσῶν has seemed to some "a surprise for μυστῶν". The latter word would enhance the Eleusinian reference of the passage but something is to be said for the Muses (*cf. v.* 1300). The admirable Sarcophagus of The Mourning Women, an Athenian masterpiece of the early fourth century which has the form of a miniature Ionic temple, has six female figures in the six intercolumniations on each long side and three in the three intercolumniations on the short sides. Since no more than one long side and one short side can be seen at one time it is tempting to believe that the sculptor intended the nine simultaneously visible female forms to represent the Muses and had in mind the temple of Apollo at Delphi which in an Attic vase painting of the late fifth century appears as of the Ionic order.[22] Since the Delphic temple contained the tomb of Zagreus who was resurrected as Dionysus,[23] the sarcophagus was a most appropriate monumental version of the

[21] Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena* V, 1. The Greek text is quoted by Foucart, *op. cit.*, p. 479. *Cf.* p. 13 *infra* for another such name.

[22] Roscher, *Omphalos* pl. II, nos. 2–3.

[23] Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris* 35, says that the tomb of Dionysus was in the *adyton* of the temple.

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Greek mystic belief "Thou shalt be god instead of mortal".[24] Zagreus the most beloved son of Zeus by the Eleusinian Persephone was logically entitled to the Muses as his mourners. Hence the reading Μουσῶν has special point in *v.* 356. The exclusion finally of one "who has not been initiated into the Bacchic rites of the tongue of the bull-eating Cratinus" (*v.* 357) may have a mystic play upon his name. He came from the deme of Oinoē (οἶνος) and derived his name from κράτος "might" which is also the base of the name Krateia. The latter occurs in a scene of Dionysiac character on a Cabiric cup discovered in the ruins of the Cabirium near Thebes.[25]

Further Eleusinian allusions are to be found in the criticism by Aeschylus of the Euripidean prologue. Euripides so composed his prologues that "everything fits into them" (*vv.* 1202–3). In illustration of this "everything" Aeschylus mentions three objects κωδάριον, ληκύθιον and θυλάκιον but selects ληκύθιον which is stressed in the immediately preceding verses. He then proceeds to wreck one Euripidean prologue after another. His choice is attributed by commentators to the trivial value of the lecythus, which could be purchased for an obol (*v.* 1236), and to the assumption that this cheap vase enhanced the ridicule by Aeschylus of the excessive monotony of the Euripidean prologue with its recurring use of the *caesura penthemimeres*. Merry believes that with the three alternative objects Aeschylus is stigmatizing Euripides as having "dragged tragedy down to the humblest levels of everyday life".[26] But Aristophanes chose the three words in question rather because of their Eleusinian implications. Furthermore such choice seems anticipated in *vv.* 983–5 where Dionysus, confirming Euripides' improvement of the management of the Athenian household, quotes the householder as asking "Where is the *chytra*? Who has eaten the head of the sprat (μαινίς)? and then remarking "Last year's cup has died for me". The *chytra* alludes to the Χύτροι, the third day of the Anthesteria which was celebrated in honor of Dionysus. The

[24] Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, p. 173, no. 3. The prediction is inscribed on a gold tablet.

[25] Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*, p. 196, n. 1 and p. 203, n. 7. Hemberg notes the difficulty of drawing limits between the Eleusinian, Orphic and Cabiric mysteries (p. 204). For an Eleusinian interest in "the strong" *v. supra*.

[26] One should cite the fantastic commentary on *lekythion* by Gilbert Murray, *The Frogs of Aristophanes*, p. 130, who corrupts the vision of the antique by modern parallel in translating the word "umbrella". The British lose an umbrella as easily as the ancient Athenian lost his oil vase. More valuable is the list which Murray gives of tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides whose prologues admit of the substitution somewhere in their first ten lines of the words ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν.

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μαινίς is a play on the name Μαινάς, "Maenad". The last year's τρύβλιον which died (τέθνηκε) was according to Hesychius a cup used in the mysteries, ποτήριον μυστερίου.

Although the comedy of the *Frogs* is localized in the abode of the dead no consideration has been given to the fact that the *lekythion* was a sepulchral vase par excellence. It was painted for the dead as Aristophanes himself says[27]. In the *Ecclesiazusae* Blepyrus complains that he has been left by his wife as if laid out for burial but without a crown and a *lekythos* (*vv.* 537–8.) The close connection of the two is revealed by a painting on a *lekythos* of three such sepulchral vases with a crown on each one[28]. Another *lekythos* has a scene of the revivification of Glaucus, son of Minos, in an omphaloid tomb surmounted by a tripod and is thus doubly suggestive of Zagreus.[29] The choice of such subject may allude to the hope of the deceased owner of the vase to share in the god's return to life. Obviously the vase and the crown were of significance to the dead. In the *Frogs* (*vv.* 324–30) the chorus calls upon Iacchus to come dancing through the meadow to the holy members of his *thiasos*, shaking about his head the crown that teems with myrtle. Very probably the crown mentioned by Blepyrus was a symbol of deification as Iacchus or Bacchus. The initiate into the mysteries of Mithras put aside a crown that was offered him, saying that Mithras was his crown. This invocation of Iacchus is interrupted by an aside from Xanthias (*vv.* 337–8) "Oh queen, greatly honored daughter of Demeter, how sweet is the smell of pig's meat wafted to me!" The allusion here is to pigs which were sacrificed in Eleusinian rite. The so-called ham-coins found in a well at Nemausus (Nîmes) in southeastern France were apparently offered to Persephone in lieu of the animal.

The second object the *lekythos*, which Blepyrus felt was essential to the dead, had a great vogue at Athens in the very days of Aristophanes. It has been found in the graves of the Ceramicus which is mentioned in the *Frogs* (*v.* 129). On some of these vases are scenes of Charon and his boat in which, in the comedy, Dionysus crosses the *limne* (*vv.* 181, 188). Such scenes give added point to the choice of the *lekythion* by Aeschylus. This vase which contained oil apparently was placed in the grave that its occupant might be and remain one of the anointed. He thus

[27] *Eccles.*, *v.* 996.

[28] Furtwängler-Riezler, *Weißgr. Att. Lekythen*, pl. 23. Behind the *stele* in this painting is not a "tumulus" but rather an *omphalos* in allusion to that at Delphi which according to one tradition was the tomb of Zagreus (Dionysus). The style of the vase is reminiscent of the Phidian and therefore close in time and place to Aristophanes.

[29] A. S. Murray and A. H. Smith, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, pl. XVI.

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became πάγχριστος. The use of oil for the dead is attested by Homer (*Iliad* XXIII, 186) who says that Aphrodite anointed the body of Hector with "divine oil". What is the significance here of the adjective ἀμβρόσιος? Does it mean "immortal" in the sense that it bestowed immortality, that what preserved the body preserved its spirit? The scholiasts do not discuss the word *lekythos* but their reticence does not imply that they considered it too sacred for comment. The remark of Blepyrus indicates that to be without a *lekythos* affected the status of the dead in Hades. The same two essentials appear in a fragment of a comedy by Aristophanes which represents the deceased as saying "We should not thus lie in state, crowned and anointed, unless the moment we descended (to Hades) it were necessary to drink".[30] The *lekythos*, the crown and wine thus formed a triad of mystic requirements.

Since the *lekythos* was apparently a vase of mystic significance Aristophanes may have been playfully suggesting that the loss of it affected the destiny of the dead in the nether world. This seems a possible inference from the fact that the repeated loss of a *lekythos* in the Aeschylean versions of Euripidean prologues helped to change the original intention of Dionysus to restore Euripides to the upper world and to Athens. After the first use of the devastating phrase ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν in the *Frogs* (*v.* 1209) Dionysus exclaims "Will it (the *lekythos*) not weep? The allusion here is both to the sepulchral use of the vase and to the scenes of mourning depicted on it. This playful note of lamentation is repeated in οἴμοι πεπλήγμεθ' (1214) and in ἐκκεκόψεται (1223). Both verbs πλήσσομαι and κόπτομαι are used of one who strikes himself in grief. Euripides appropriately invokes Demeter in *v.* 1222.

The *lekythos* seems to have been attached sometimes to the wall of a tomb. It appears in an interior scene on a vase of that shape attached to a neutral background.[31] Such practice would give added point to the choice by Aristophanes of the phrase προσάψαι λήκυθον (*vv.* 1216, 1231, 1234). Sophocles (*Elec.* 432) uses the same verb of attaching something to a tomb. The oil vase in a tomb shared the symbolic purpose of the wine vessel which was found near the mouth of a skeleton in a Mycenaean grave in the agora of Athens, and of the wine cups pressed against the mouths of skulls in graves of the Middle Helladic period at Corinth, a practice which survived into the geometric period.[32]

[30] Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, I, p. 517. *Cf.* n. 34. On a gold tablet from Thurii a mystic announces that he has attained a crown (Foucart, p. 429).

[31] Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Weißgrundige Attische Lekythen*, pl. 10. Pl. 17 shows two *lekythoi* suspended in the field which may represent vases painted or suspended on a wall. *Cf.* pl. 46.

[32] *AJA.* 1930, pp. 406, 411.

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Fragments of *kantharoi* were discovered in the necropolis at Eleusis, and in graves of the Dipylon[33]. According to a belief attributed to Musaeus and his son (Eumolpus?) the traditional founder of the Eleusinian mysteries the best reward for virtue was eternal drunkenness in Hades.[34] It is no wonder that in a relief on a Laconian sepulchral *stele* of the archaic period the beardless Zagreus, seated beside his mother Persephone, holds out a large *kantharos* toward diminutive human figures of the deceased who have entered Hades. It is a singular coincidence that in another Laconian *stele*[35] two nude suppliants descend to the god who is seated and holds a cup. The scene is identified by a passage in Plato (*Gorgias* 523 E) which cites the tradition that Zeus gave orders that the dead appear nude for judgment.[36] The importance of the wine-god in such scenes is strikingly evident from *Psalm* LXXV, 7–8 which reads: "But God is the judge: he putteth down one and setteth up another. For in the hand of the Lord is a cup, and the wine is red". Here too judgment and the wine-cup are combined. Aristophanes had excellent reason to choose Dionysus to preside as judge in Hades.

The choice by Aristophanes of the sepulchral *lekythion* as the object with which Aeschylus destroys the prologues of Euripides and thus contributes to his victory and his consequent return to life in Athens cannot have been made merely because the *lekythion* was a cheap vase of ceramic interest only. The choice was dictated rather by the significant function of the oil it contained and by the fact that Aeschylus was a native of Eleusis and an initiate into its mysteries. One may even conjecture that in view of the close association of Dionysus with Apollo the choice of the verb in the destructive phrase ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν may have been made by Aristophanes in allusion to the fact that both Aeschylus and Euripides derived the name of Apollo from ἀπόλλυμι.

The second object which Aeschylus says he could fit into the iambics of Euripides is κωδάριον "little fleece" (*v.* 1203). This may also be brought within the orbit of Eleusinian innuendo. It may allude to the

[33] Gotsmich, *Studien zur ältesten Griechischen Kunst*, p. 79.

[34] Plato, *Rep.*, 363ff. *Cf.* Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, pp. 158–9; Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus*, p. 87, considers the drunkenness to be an addition by Adeimantus but the sequence here seems to be that of a drinking party which first crowned itself and then proceeded to get intoxicated. Such is the sequence in the fragment of an Aristophanic comedy. See note 30 above.

[35] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1904, p. 43.

[36] This requirement survived into Christian art which renounced the representation of the nude except in scenes of the last judgment. A fragment of a Greek comedy runs: "Be not deceived. There is in Hades a judgment which god, the master of all, will make" (Meineke, *Frag. Com.*, II, p. 866).

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Διὸς κώδιον[37] which was used by the *dadouchos* at Eleusis for the purification from murder according to Suidas who notes that it was the fleece of a victim sacrificed to Zeus Meilichios, probably that of a ram. This Zeus was the recipient of important cult in the city of Athens so that the spectators were quite familiar with the fleece. Meilichios was also a title of Dionysus. It is possible that Aristophanes prepares for a reference to the "fleece of Zeus" in the word κωδάριον by a triple invocation of Zeus in the immediately preceding *vv.* 1183, 1188, 1198. The mention of this word first in a group of three, although the second is chosen to wreck the Euripidean prologue, may imply an allusion to a triad of Eleusinian deities with Zeus at its head. He and Persephone were the parents of Zagreus (Dionysus). Such allusion would be the more appropriate in view of the leading role of Dionysus in the comedy.

Κωδάριον is the diminutive of κώδιον which in its turn is the diminutive of κῶας. Aristophanes may have intended the word κωδάριον, as a derivative of κῶας to recall the superb refrain of the chorus of the frogs, "the Limnaean children of the springs"[38] (*vv.* 209ff): βρεκεκεκὲξ κοὰξ κοάξ in which βρεκε is a slight modification of βρέχε,[39] while κοάξ is a thinly disguised κῶας. This word does not mean "cloud" but Apollonius uses it of the golden fleece which was hung upon an oak (of Zeus?) and which was "like a cloud" (*Argon.* IV, 124–5). Thus the chorus of frogs fleeing the rain, ὄμβρος, of Zeus seemed to sing from the depths (of the *limne*) "Rain, rain, cloud (of Zeus)". Zeus Ombrios was worshipped on Attic Mt. Parnes. The final consonant of κοάξ may have been borrowed from words for "drop": λάταξ, πέμφιξ, ῥάθαμιγξ and στράγξ to which may be added πομφόλυξ "water bubble". The fabricated word κοάξ is onomatopoetic like κοκκύξ "cuckoo" and in form is congeneric with the exclamatory βαβαὶ βαβαιάξ (*Peace* 248) and βομβὰξ βομβολοβομβάξ (*Thesm.* 45, 48). All are oxytone. In spite however of this conformity its combination with βρεκε may have suggested such word play as is here proposed. The choice of 'frogs' for a chorus of the comedy was particularly happy if, as is probable, there were frogs in the marshes, the Limnae, where Dionysus had a famous temple. From them the god derived his appellative Limnaios.

Reference has already been made to the "fleece of Zeus" in purificatory rites at Eleusis. Perhaps the appearance of Heracles in the com-

[37] In *Frogs v.* 1478 κώδιον is probably a play on the word κώδεια "poppy head" as the source of a soporific, the modern codeine. The play may involve the use of a fleece as bedding.

[38] The site of a primitive cult of Dionysus.

[39] *Cf.* the ritual imperative addressed to Zeus Hyetius ὖε, ὖε. On κ for χ *cf.* the play on Κεῖος and Χῖος (*v.* 970).

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edy reminded the spectators that he had had to submit to such purification.[40] He had slain the Centaurs who were half human. Heracles refers to them when in response to a knock on the door (*v.* 38) he exclaims "how like a Centaur someone rushes against my door!" He may have accompanied his words with a gesture toward the Parthenon the metopes of which on the side toward the theatre represented Centaurs rushing at the Lapiths. Such gesture would add a touch of realism as does the appeal to the priest of Dionysus who presided over the performance.[41]

The last of the three objects which could easily destroy the prologues of Euripides is θυλάκιον "sack". The presence of this word in Eleusinian vocabulary would be logical enough in view of the agrarian character of Demeter's cult. In the *Plutus* the wife of Chremylus inquires (v. 749) "Where is Plutus?" whereupon Cario announces the impending arrival of the god and urges all to dance, leap and form a chorus because there will be barley meal in the sack (ἐν τῷ θυλάκῳ) *i. e.* a sufficient harvest. Plutus was sometimes called Pluton quite properly since both names are derived from the same word. Plouton had a temple at Eleusis and his "wealth was sent up from within the earth".[42] His function was thus closely linked with that of Demeter.

The lexical triad κωδάριον, ληκύθιον and θυλάκιον thus seems to allude to an Eleusinian triad in the order of the importance of its members, first to Zeus (of the fleece), then to his son by Persephone Zagreus as the anointed, the πάγχριστος to use a word of Sophocles, and finally to Demeter, mother of Persephone.

The prologues which Aeschylus ruins with a little oil vase appear also to have been selected by Aristophanes with reference to Demeter and Dionysus of whom the Egyptians said that they hold chief sway in the infernal region.[43] The cultivation of corn and barley were introduced into the Argolid and Attica from Egypt. These traditions would give point to the choice by Aristophanes of the first prologue cited by Aeschylus which mentions the arrival of Aegyptus and his fifty sons at Argos according to the most widely "sown" legend (*v.* 1206). The word "sown" ἔσπαρται used by Euripides shows the same purposeful selection that Aristophanes reveals in the word δρέπανον "sickle"[44] with which

[40] *Cf.* Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 198.
[41] *Cf.* Kock *ad* 297, 308.
[42] Plato, *Cratylus* 403.
[43] Herodotus II, 123.
[44] Plutarch (*Isis et Osiris* 377D) quotes a poet who spoke of men cutting the limbs of Demeter. This expression followed logically from her identification with grain just as the tearing of the wine-god followed from his identification with the grape.

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Pandoceutria proposes to cut the gullet of the pseudo-Heracles (*v.* 576). The words are suggestive of sowing and reaping. The most perfect mystery in the Eleusinian rite was "an ear of corn reaped".[46] To this Aeschylus appears to allude in *v.* 1300 when he says "that I might not be seen reaping (δρέπων) the same holy meadow of the Muses with Phrynichus.

The second prologue describes Dionysus as clad in a fawn-skin and holding a *thyrsos* while dancing on Parnassus (*vv.* 1211–13). This prologue is from the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides the third verse of which ended with the phrase παρθένοις ξὺν Δελφίσιν. Pausanias gives the subject of one of the gable-groups of the temple of Apollo at Delphi as Dionysus with the Thyiad women.[47] There may be here a reference to a dance in the spring which commemorated the rebirth of vegetation in the person of Zagreus. Athena had rescued the heart of Zagreus, who had been torn to pieces by the Titans, and had taken it for burial to Delphi where he returned to life as Dionysus.[48] In *Frogs vv.* 465 *sqq.* Aeacus belabors Dionysus who is disguised as Heracles. The passage seems to allude to the *sparagmos* of the god, for in *v.* 474 the verb διασπαράξει occurs and is followed in *v.* 477 by διασπάσονται. This impending laceration, the like of which Zagreus vainly tried to escape, so terrifies Dionysus that when Xanthias asks him (*v.* 479) "What have you done?" the god replies ἐγκέχοδα. κάλει θεόν. This reply, which the Puritanic Merry omits from his text, is a gross parody of a libation poured to chthonic deity, probably Zagreus. Kock *ad. loc.* gives the parodied invocation as ἐκκέχυται. κάλει θεόν. In the very next verse Xanthias says to Dionysus "Will you not get up quickly?" The verb here (*v.* 480) is ἀναστήσει, a verb used from the time of Homer till today of the resurrection of the dead. In *v.* 490 Dionysus uses the second aorist ἀνέστην which survives in the Easter greeting of modern Greece. Aristophanes in this scene puts into the mouths of Dionysus and Xanthias the words of Dionysiac *sparagmos* and *anastasis*.

A further allusion to the dismemberment of the god seems to occur in *vv.* 1259–62. Here the chorus, after the devastating attack by Aeschylus upon the prologues of Euripides, fears the retaliatory attack

[45] The name Pandoceutria is based upon πανδόκος "all-receiving", an adjective applied to Charon's boat by Aeschylus (*Theb.* 860)

[46] Foucart, *op. cit.*, p. 433, quotes the text of Hippolytus.

[47] Paus., X, 19, 3.

[48] On the fate of Zagreus *v.* A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II, 2, pp. 1030–31. Pausanias (II, 37 2–3), after citing at Lerna an image of the Saviour Dionysus, mentions Lernaean mysteries instituted by Philammon to whom were attributed certain stories which were incised upon a piece of copper in the shape of a heart. Was this form chosen because the stories concerned Zagreus and the Titans?

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which Euripides will make upon the melodies of Aeschylus. The chorus gives him the Orphic title of Dionysus Βακχεῖον ἄναχτα.[49] Now Aeschylus, a native of Eleusis had said (*v.* 1032) that "Orpheus showed us mysteries" The verb here is κατέδειξε. In *v.* 1261 Euripides says it will quickly be shown what he will do to the μέλη θαυμαστά of Aeschylus. The impersonal δείξει suggests the δεικνύμενα of the Eleusinian mysteries.[50] The adjective θαυμαστά recalls that applied to the most perfect mystery of the *epopteia* at Eleusis by Hippolytus, θαυμαστόν.[51] This phraseology tempts one to suspect a double significance for the word μέλη which means (1) "songs" and (2) "limbs" of the body. Since the chorus had called Aeschylus "the Bacchic Lord" (*v.* 1259) the announcement of Euripides (*v.* 1262): εἰς ἓν γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ μέλη ξυντεμῶ could mean either that Euripides will show all the melodies of his rival to be reducible to one pattern or that he will cut him all to pieces so that his members are one mass. The verb here would allude to dismemberment by cutting. Such interpretation receives some confirmation from the tradition recorded by Diodorus (III, 62) that "Dionysus, the son of Zeus and Demeter, was torn to pieces by the Earthborn and boiled but that the pieces (μελῶν) were fitted together again by Demeter and the god born anew. In agreement with these data are the revelations in the Orphic poems and what is enacted in the mysteries . . "

The third prologue is the only one of the seven which does not mention the name of a deity or hero. There may however be allusion to such in the verb εὐδαιμονεῖ (*v.* 1217) for which the poet prepares with a triple appearance of the word εὐδαίμων (1182, 1186, 1196) just as in *vv.* 1183, 1188 and 1198 the triple invocation of Zeus may anticipate a reference to the fleece of the god (*v.* 1203). Strabo (X, 3, 11) gives the title Daimon to Iacchus, Dionysus and to the leader of the mysteries of Demeter. In *vv.* 156–7 Heracles tells Dionysus and Xanthias that they will see in Hades θιάσους εὐδαίμονας of men and women clapping their hands. The word θίασος was applied especially to a Bacchic band. The *Daimon* was clearly important at Eleusis. In the *Peace* Aristophanes has Trygaeus call upon farmers to come with their pickaxes and lay hold of the good deity (ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος). The goddess Peace is to be resurrected. The first day of the Boeotian Anthesteria, a Dionysiac festival, was called ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος.. This was the day when souls emerged from the underworld, apparently after the pattern of the

[49] *Orph. Hymn.*, XXX, 2.

[50] On the δεικνύμενα of the Eleusinian mysteries *v.* Foucart. *Op. cit.*, pp. 418, 434.

[51] *Philosoph.*, V. 1, p. 170 whose Greek text is quoted by Foucart, p. 433.

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Daimon himself. A Dionysiac connotation is perhaps given this deity by the reference of Hesychius to the ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος πόμα.. A dedication to the good Daimon was found in the Dionyseion of Thasos.[52] Menander (*Incer.* 18) says "Beside every man, the moment he is born, there stands a *daimon*, mystagogue of life."

The third verse of the prologue in question ended with the phrase πλουσίαν ἀροῖ πλάκα "plows a rich plain." Those in the theatre who remembered these words may have sensed an allusion to Demeter, her Rharian plain and her Eleusinian associate Pluto. Such allusion followed logically the mention of Dionysus in the preceding prologue. Six verses later Euripides swears by Demeter (1223) who had been invoked by the chorus as "queen of the holy rites" (384). The comment of Dionysus after the third defeat for Euripides is that he "take in his sail for this *lekythion* will blow a gale" (Merry).[53] A quite different interpretation by Kock is "It seems best to me to yield because this little *lekythos* will smell strongly." The latter is the more likely meaning because the oil which the vase held was fragrant and furthermore suits the sepulchral use of the vase. The verb here used πνευσεῖται has the meaning "send forth an odor."

The fourth prologue of Euripides is disrupted when Cadmus loses his little oil vase. The displaced words are ἵκετ' ἐς Θήβης πέδον.. The appropriateness lies in the tradition that Cadmus brought with him to the Boeotian city knowledge of the rites of Dionysus. In the fifth prologue Pelops on his way to Pisa loses his *lekythion* (1232–3). This son of Tantalus was served up to the gods without their knowledge but was recalled to life by Zeus. He had an ivory shoulder in the place of that eaten by Demeter and others. The tradition partly parallels that of Zagreus in that both were dismembered and consumed, and then restored to life. This parallelism and the restoration of Zagreus to life at Delphi may have suggested the Polygnotan mural at Delphi which depicted the punishment of Tantalus in Hades.[54] One may safely assume that Aristophanes had seen the Polygnotan frescoes.

In the sixth prologue it is Oeneus who, "while offering the first fruits as he garnered an ear of corn (στάχυν) from the earth", lost a *lekythion* (*v.* 1240). The word στάχυς is used by Hippolytus in describing "the great, the wonderful, the perfect mystery which the Athenians showed

[52] *J.H.S.*, 1925, p. 220.

[53] A scene of Dionysus sailing over the sea with seven bunches of grapes and seven dolphins arranged chiastically about him was painted by Execias in the interior of a BF cylix (Furtwaengler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenm.* I, pl. 42). The number may be symbolic.

[54] Paus. X, 31, 12.

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the *epoptai*, an ear reaped in silence."[55] Oeneus was the son of Aegyptus from whose land corn and barley were introduced into the Argolid and Attica. Thus a series of six prologues, with the *lekythion* attached to them, comes to an end. They began with Aegyptus and end with his son Oeneus whose name readily suggests οἶνος "wine" and thus acquires a close relationship to Dionysus, the ancient associate of Demeter at Eleusis. The relation of Oeneus to Demeter is made clear by the ear of corn which he garnered.

Undaunted by the disruption of the sixth prologue Euripides dismisses it with an appeal to try another on Aeschylus, addressing Dionysus as τᾶν (1243). If the Athenian audience saw in this title a reference to the Cretan Zeus which is attested by coins, and is a semantic parallel to κύριος then such allusion would prepare for Zeus as the subject of the last prologue. In this Zeus would have lost a little *lekythos* had not the presiding judge Dionysus intervened to warn Euripides that Aeschylus would repeat the disrupting phrase. Dionysus brings the quotations to an end with the remark to Euripides that "the *lekythos* is on your prologues like figs (*i.e.* styes) on your eyes" (*v.* 1247). With the word "fig" Aristophanes brought to the minds of the spectators the 'Eleusinian' fig tree in the suburb of Athens where the sacred procession from Eleusis to Athens stopped on its way to the city. This procession escorted sacred objects of the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone to the Eleusinion on the slope of the acropolis. The suburb was named Ἱερὰ Συκῆ because the first fig tree was produced there by Demeter.[56]

The agreement in number between the prologues cited before Dionysus as judge and the parts of the dismembered Zagreus who returned to life as Dionysus at Delphi may not have been a mere coincidence. Seven was a mystical number.[57] The Lesbian Terpander who was invited to Sparta composed nomes, akin to dithyrambs and sung in honor of a god generally Apollo, which according to Pollux (IV, 66) consisted of seven parts of which one was called *omphalos*. If Pindar in his *Epinikia* was indebted to Terpander in this respect then the name *omphalos* for one of the seven divisions may have been derived from the famous *omphalos* which stood near the tomb of Zagreus, if it was

[55] *v. supra*, n. 46.

[56] Athenaeus 74D; Paus., I, 37, 2. The close association of Demeter with Dionysus probably explains the choice of fig-wood for the *phallos* which was carried in Bacchic processions. The association is seen again in an archaic Attic grave stele which represents a standing male figure holding a sheaf of wheat in one hand and a *kantharos* in the other (Conze, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs* pl. I). This wine-cup is probably a symbol of μέθη αἰώνιος.

[57] *Cf.* my *Archaeological Papers*, VII, pp. 55–6.

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not the tomb itself, in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Pindar had an iron chair near this tomb.[58] His *Epinikia* as the word indicates commemorated athletic victories which may have been in honor of the god buried there. Such contests were already known to Homer as noted above (p. 10). The theatre there belonged to Dionysus rather than to Apollo.

The question has been raised by Dr. H. F. Cherniss why, if the theory of the Dionysiac connotation of the seven prologues is true, did not Aristophanes select the prologue of the *Bacchae*, as one of the seven, which permits the substitution of ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν in the fourth verse? A possible explanation of this omission, if that tragedy was known to Aristophanes at the time he wrote the *Frogs*, is that the *Bacchae* is not Delphic-Eleusinian. Orgiastic cult emerged in Athens during the Peloponnesian war. Aristophanes and other writers of comedy attacked it.[59] Dodds believes that the attack was directed against the orgiastic nocturnal rites of women. Agaue and her frenzied female companions fall within that category. Pentheus was torn to pieces by them. He despised Dionysus and may have been a rival of Zagreus but suffered *sparagmos* as a lion. A town in Phrygia bore the curious name Leontokephalon[60] which may have been due to the importance of the lion's head in local cult. The name Τὰ Φρύγια of a town on the Attic-Boeotian border[61] seems to warrant an obligation of some sort to Phrygia. This slight evidence may explain the choice by Euripides of a lion as the supposed victim of the orgiastic Bacchae. In the tragedy (*v.* 1018) the chorus calls upon Dionysus to appear as a bull, a dragon or as a lion. The congeneric character of Pentheus and Zagreus is confirmed by the traditions as to their fathers. Zagreus was the son of Zeus in serpentine form.[62] Pentheus was the son of Echion who apparently owes his name (from ἔχις 'snake') to the story that he was sprung from one of the dragon's teeth[63] sown by Cadmus.[64] When Agaue calls Pentheus a young bull μόσχος (*v.* 1185) there may be an allusion to the taurine form assumed by Zagreus. Such syncretism of rival cults was to be expected. In the comedy of the *Frogs* however Dionysus, though the national god of Lydia, is Eleusinian in character.

[58] *Ibid.*, VIII, 3, p. 45.

[59] *Cf.* Dodds, *Euripides Bacchae* pp. XX–XXI. Cicero mentions the trial of Sabazius and other foreign gods in a comedy. They were condemned and banished from the state (*Leges* II, 15).

[60] Plutarch, *Themistocles* 30.

[61] Thucydides II, 22.

[62] *Cf.* Cook, *Zeus I*, p. 398; II, 2, p. 1029.

[63] Homer uses the words δράκων and ὄφις indifferently for 'serpent' in *Iliad* XII, 201, 208.

[64] *Bacchae* 1274; Paus., IX, 10, 1.

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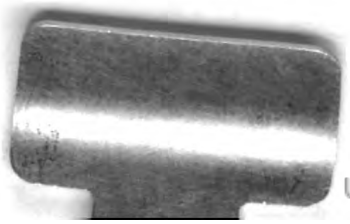

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